301 /43 cont./
237 Pauxĩ maraxĩ -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers
825 of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.).
Pauxĩ koikoimão -- upper-arm ornament of the black-white feathers of the gavião-caipira (Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga Gm.).
Pauxĩ parurĩhonomaĩbe -- upper-arm ornament of white breast feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.).
Pauxĩ marakanã -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the arara amarela (Ara ararauna L.).
Pauxĩ xeraxeramão -- upper-arm ornament of feathers of the papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.) and the papagaio curica (Amazona sp.).

Besides these bunches of feathers which are stuck into the arm cords or bands from the top, /44/ there are also ornaments which are knotted to them and hang down. These are usually several small feathers from different birds, the quills of which have been tied together with a string of cotton or curauá fibers:
Pauxĩ prukatõba -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), papagaio moleiro (Amazona sp.), and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).
Pauxĩ maraxiakosĩbe -- Pendant upper-arm ornament of feathers of the cujubim (Pipile pipile cajubi Pelz.) and toucan (Rhamphastus sp.).

Finally, as the most valuable ornament in this category, one should mention upper-arm bindings of mutum feathers -- pauxĩ parurihés -- to which are fastened hangings -- pauxĩ manhebeahunque -- of feathers of the mutum (Crax sp.), toucan (Rhamphastus sp.), and jacamim (Psophia crepitans L.), or even skins of these birds. In addition, there are upper-arm bindings which consist only of feathers of the jacamim -- pauxĩ nhapinhéssi -- with feather hangings -- pauxĩ pehakossĩbe -- from the same bird.

[554] All the feather ornaments listed also represent marks of distinction, for only the chiefs and trusted warriors have the right to adorn both upper arms; younger men, on the other hand, only one.

/44 cont./

301 825 239 Into the pierced ear-lobes there are sometimes inserted small feathers of the anambé azul (Catinga cayana L.) -- pauxí osuemekés --, while a tail feather of the arara vermelha (Ara macao L.) -- pauxí aratexiná -- occasionally adorns the perforation of the lower lip (Ill. 11). These ornamental objects may be used by older as well as younger warriors. [554]

[962] The making of feather ornaments is incumbent upon the men, who, however, do it very superficially. As a result of the wealth of birds in their dwelling and roving areas, however, it is no trouble to renew damaged pieces very quickly.

Finally, it should be mentioned as a peculiarity that Surára and Pakidái men often glue the white down-feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.) -- koikoimão -- in the hair with tree resin. Usually they are arranged in the form of a wreath so that they give the effect of a head circlet (Ill. 9), but sometimes they are scattered through the hair at random. The ornamental idea, however, plays only a secondary role in this case, for this feather covering is regarded as a trophy. In the opinion of these Indians, sickness and evil in general come from hostile tribes, above all from the Waiká. They are caused by magical performances of the medicine men, who for this use these birds or bats as transmitters, in whose bodies they send their own souls. Now if the Surára and Pakidái kill such an animal, they believe that a hostile medicine man has at the same time met his end (see also pp.211 and 229).

301 825 75

301 171 The feather ornaments of the Surára and Pakidái are, of course, unable to compete with the magnificent feather ornaments of the Urubu-Kaapor, Munduruku /Mundurucu/, Tapirapé, Karajá /Caraja/, Bororo, Guajajára, Tembé, Apiaká /Apiaca/, Mawé /Maue/, Arara, Tukano /Tucano/, and Xingú Indians, which were worked out in detail and classified by Darcy and Berta G. Ribeiro (237) (238), but they show how differently the individual

237. Darcy Ribeiro and Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

238. Berta G. Ribeiro, 1957.

/60 cont./

622 159 Since that time Hewemão has been chief and at the same time, like his predecessor, a medicine man who instructs all the male Surára in religion, mythology, magic, curing the sick, and tribal traditions (see pp. 143f.). He also, however, assigns them to occasional communal projects, supervises their activity in the rocas (forest clearings), gives instructions for the building of a maloka, and selects the participants for curing the sick and for magic performances. [224] If a large animal was killed, a tapir, for example, he supervised the fair distribution of the meat so that every family obtained its piece. In the case of smaller game, the hunters usually give their chief a choice piece, and the women bring him and his family fruits and berries or brimming calabashes [554] of refreshing palm drinks. He is thus honored in every way. He and his wives too, however, willingly and freely give up some of their hunting or gathering spoils.

[342] In the large, open maloka he and his two wives and children occupy a special hut (see pp. 24 ff.). During migrations of 622 the tribe he determines when they are to rest and to set out again. 484 Moreover, each morning he arranges for regular march-protection, 159 4-5 warriors who form the advance guard and set out two hours 484 before the departure. They have only their bows and arrows with them and reconnoiter in both directions from the Indian path, in order to be on the lookout for enemies. The bulk of the tribe, which travels in single-file formation, always presented the following picture during the time I lived among the Surára: 3-4 484 warriors armed only with bows and arrows. They carry their 482 weapons longitudinally over their heads or over one shoulder. After them came men with my baggage, the younger brothers of the chief, and finally the latter himself. I walked behind him, my servant Mateus followed me, and the boys and girls with little baskets, then the women with their large, cylindrical baskets, which contain all the household goods. Mothers with babies carried them, in addition, in a carrying band on their left hips. On top of the basket there often sat a little dog, a monkey, or a parrot. Then behind the women there marched 4-5 more warriors as a rear guard.

Surára
Pakidai

/60 cont./

484 These safety measures are necessary, for one must always be prepared for a hostile attack. That is why the /61/ women [482] carry all the household goods, for if the men were thus burdened, they could not defend themselves. For this reason, the chief 484 and his brothers always march in the middle of the tribe, for in 622 the event of a military encounter the protection of the chief is the 554 supreme command of all the Surára. He is honored and respected, of course, not only as the head of the tribe, but also because he is the adviser in all situations of life, the medicine man who is able to make connections with the hekurá and serras /sierras/ (see pp. 200/201) and can ward off sickness and misfortune. If he were killed, the tribe would suddenly be in a terrible situation, for his successor does not yet have the same experience.

622 The next youngest brother and subsequent successor of Hewemãо is Kurikayawõ. He will be followed by Inxinemá, who is approximately 19 years old, but has not yet completed his youth-initiation. And it is only after the latter that Hemahemá, who is approximately 25 years old and the only son of the oldest brother, Xarimá, who died eight years ago, would be able to take over the leadership.

624 The war chief of the Surára is Xomirawõ, a modest, reserved, but extraordinarily hardy and brave man.

622 Among the Pakidái the succession of chiefs is the same.
624 The following remarks, however, will show the complications that
619 arose six years ago as a result of the death of the old chief Karakarawõ, because his three younger brothers who could have taken over the succession died before him. Karakarawõ did have a son, Karenauõ, but he was still very young, so that there was nothing to do but to entrust the leadership of the tribe for the time being to the war chief Porẽhiwõ as a substitute. At the same time he and the older Pakidái men asked the chief of the friendly Surára, Hewemãо, for advice in many things, especially serious illnesses, magic performances, etc. At this time many younger Pakidái attended the school of the Surára chief, among them the present Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, who was given a very thorough training by Hewemãо. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái even lived

/204 cont./

226 They also fish, but fishing takes second place and is much less important than hunting.

222 241 Other important sources of food are wild fruits and vegetables, which they frequently obtain. Many local groups devote themselves to agriculture, which they carry on in rudimentary fashion and which they adopt from their Caribe neighbors, but for many groups the products of the earth constitute at present a primary food base.

224 The men prefer to go out hunting at dawn or in the afternoon before the sun sets. During the morning they spy on the game as it comes to drink water or to look for food in the places [223] known by the hunter. In the afternoon the Sanemá hunts birds when they return to the trees to spend the night hidden among the leaves.

The men commonly go out alone, sometimes with a com- [789] panion, or in small parties. They walk with great care, without [826] making any noise, and they believe that in a moment of great danger they can develop such power in their necks that it lifts them above the ground and they fly to the height of the trees.

224 /205/ The hunters prepare themselves in various ways for 777 their work. If one of them has had bad luck, he tries to rid 826 himself of the "dark blood," the cause of his poor aim. He [237] achieves this by piercing, by means of a ray-fish sting, the muscles of the arm or by making small incisions on the forearm.

[841] "Dark blood" is produced in the body of a man when a woman during menstruation touches the hunter or one of his weapons, or also when a woman in this condition has eaten any of the game hunted by him.

224 A good hunter does not eat any of his own catch in order not 262 to lose good luck or to miss when he shoots. He eats the game [777] of his companion; of the animals caught by him he only asks for the skull and the ribs, which he carefully keeps in certain places near the rancherís or in his house. They are exhibited [554] there in order to augment his prestige as a skillful hunter, on which depend many aspects of his social life, such as, for example, obtaining a second wife.

/211 cont./ There are
601 personal names which an individual receives from the theurgist,
551 but the kinship term seems to be used more in daily contact be-
[689 tween persons. It is considered an offense to mention the name
[825 of a deceased person in the presence of any of his relatives, and,
as we mentioned before, kinship terms are extended even to
speaking with certain animals during the hunt.

606 In general, dealings between persons are very free, with
the exception of the strong prohibitive taboo which exists be-
tween the son-in-law and his mother-in-law and father-in-law.
Usually, one must not approach one's wife's parents. Only in
cases of emergency can this be done, thus breaking the custom.
These cases of emergency come about, for instance, during a
battle, when one of the persons is wounded.

597 The adoption of an orphan takes place informally when it
is a matter of a small child. The family that adopts him takes
him in like another one of its own members. Older children
also live in a family of the group, but they are not adopted,
properly speaking, for they are not given specific kinship denomi-
nations. We do not think that there are special terms to express
a relationship of adoption.

●554 Regarding the social structure, it seems that the main dis-
tinctions are those of sex and age. The man who carries out his
daily tasks with dexterity enjoys great prestige among his peers,
and those who are really successful in their work rise to the top
of /212/ the social hierarchy. In Sanemá society the three
theurgists which we shall mention later on enjoy high rank; but
we must repeat the fact that the data regarding this matter which
we present here are provisional and therefore subject to possible
modification.

554 As we shall see, Sanemá society seems to have three differ-
791 ent theurgists: a "magician" /mago/, a shaman, and a priest.
756 This last one possesses characteristics of a real specialist, since,
793 for the most part, he earns his living from his office. There is not
the least doubt but that the theurgists in general, and the shaman
and priest in particular, represent the most influential position
in Sanemá society; particularly if the two offices are carried out
ooo by one and the same person. We were greatly surprised to find

/212 cont./ We were greatly surprised to find this stratification among the Sanemá nomads, although it did not overwhelm us, since we were already aware of a similar situation among the Warao (Wilbert, 1957a).

The opinion most commonly held among ethnologists who have studied this matter is that it is a matter of a Circum-Caribbean and Andean trait in what is related to the trilogy of priest, temple, idol, and that the existence of this cultural complex among the Warao would be an index of their decadence, owing to circumstances adverse to their culture. Regarding the temple cult itself, we also believe that it is a trait common to formative cultures and indigenous civilizations, but it is very probable that this temple cult is based on a very ancient platform of South American Paleo-Indian culture, which, by its specific conditions, lent itself to the development or to the adoption of the cult.

We do not think that anybody would care to argue that the Yanoama represent a degenerate people, for, if we admit authentic Marginals, the Yanoama are part of them. They have, however, the concept of a deified Cultural Hero, the author of all and constantly concerned with his creation. He is the cause, the beginning, and the end of all men and makes use of a priest as an intermediary between the earth and the sky. This personage is different from the shaman and his sphere.

The Sanemá do not have a temple cult, but their concepts of magic and religion are almost identical with those of the Warao where these primitive concepts serve as the basis for the cult. This basis, as we have proved through our investigations, is primitive and peculiar to the Marginals, and the identification of the superstructure as a cultural loan among the Warao makes it easier for us to understand the cult in that tribe. It is also certainly easier to explain the temple cult of the Warao if we consider it as a loan rather than as a cultural vestige of a society in decadence.

[i.e., regarding the stratification of priest, shaman, and magician in the society -- An.]

/213 cont./

793 For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain
624 later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may
[622] not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

● 554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the im-
123 pression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly
[276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our
775 informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after
[841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a
[126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made
[532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals; he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 11-An.]

/214 cont./

554 him to commit a similar excess. In their traditional duels no one dares to fight with the guapo, for they are afraid that in the heat of the encounter he may lose control of himself and kill [621] his adversary. Apparently there is only one guapo in each local group, and, from what can be seen, he may have the social mission to eliminate the weak elements in the group, in spite 554 of his not realizing that that is his function. It was explained to us, 769 for example, that on occasion the neighboring group is invited to 628 the feast of the dead, when, the ashes reduced to fine powder, [266] they ingest those of their dead companions. This invitation is extended to the enemy group in particular if it is known with certainty that among the dead whose ashes they are about to take there is one who died through the magical intervention of a member of the enemy band. During the ceremony the sablf shaman, before opening the gourd which contains the ashes, points out to the guapo of his group the probable murderer in the opposite band, who, in order to avoid complications, is always the weakest man in the group. The feast proceeds as though nothing had happened, but the enemies who lost the man during the feast invite their adversaries to celebrate the feast of their dead also.

554 Old people, for their part, do not seem to be very safe be- [788] fore this element, /215/ and some Sanemá of the Ventuari ex- [574] plained that the guapo must treat visitors in this way in order to prove his courage. It would be interesting to know in greater detail the function of the Sanemá guapo and to find out whether these are isolated cases or a traditional phenomenon.

842 The Sanemá believe that the child exists in the father, who passes it to the mother so that it may grow and be born. In 162 the Sanemá communities which we visited on our expedition we were surprised at the small number of children to be found in 855 the settlement. The parents showed much affection for their children, and when these latter have grown somewhat they participate, to the degree that their age and strength allow, in all the activities of the adults.

881 It seems that they are acquainted with rites indicatory of the onset of puberty for a boy or girl. The first menstrual period

/218 cont./

595 We have mentioned that an adult may marry a very young girl, but must not have sexual relations with her until after the first menstrual periods. We do not base our observation on the practice of polygyny among the Sanemá in isolated cases, but rather on the fact that several men have several adult wives at the [554] same time. It does not seem that polygyny is an exclusive privilege of status or rank, but rather is an accepted thing, since [584] all adults may marry two or more women. Since there seems to be some scarcity of marriageable girls, the custom of binding oneself to a little girl can be looked upon as a form of foresightedness [587] by the man, with a view to the future. Many polygynous marriages, however, probably stem from the custom of the levirate.

587 765 There are widows who marry very shortly after the death of their husbands; others, however, wait for many months. They live in the house of their brother-in-law or in that of their parents, and it seems that the future husband does not demand that they cease mourning since the person mourned and for whom they weep was not only their husband but also the brother of the new suitor.

If the brother (who is very often the youngest) does not want to or cannot /219/ marry all the widows of his deceased brother, he allows them to live with another man. These marriages take place only after some time, during which the brother of the deceased and the women live apart from the society in a sort of isolation.

587 There are no differential rules for secondary marriages, but the father of sisters has the right to prevent both of them from marrying the same man, particularly if the man, owing to his poor preparation or deficiency, cannot give assurance of the economic help which he expects from him. This explains why only older men with greater experience in life are able to marry several women with ease.

595 The wives of one man may live under the same roof or in several houses, and, in spite of there being no fixed rotation, the husband must devote the same amount of time, more or less, to each of his homes.

124 omissions in ascending generations. The genealogies of
125 individuals from other villages were easier to collect, particularly if my informants had grudges against the members of those villages, but I employed the same techniques in these cases as well.

124 After I had established the genealogical relationships, I visited the various villages to make estimates of the ages of the individuals, as well as to collect other
124 kinds of information. This was always a touchy business, as
123 the Yąnomamö resent being called by their names, particularly
551 older and more influential individuals. Occasionally I would
554 say the name of an individual who had recently been killed in
124 a raid; this always resulted in an unpleasant and possibly dangerous situation, as most of them were unable to understand why a complete stranger should want to possess such knowledge unless it were for harmful magical purposes. My guides were constantly reminding me not to mention the names of dead people of the villages I visited and of the disastrous consequences that would follow should I fail to heed this advice.

124 In short, the collection of the genealogies was an unpleasant, full-time task and left very little time for intensive study of other aspects of Yąnomamö culture.

114 The two monographs dealing with the Yąnomamö mentioned above are quite superficial in their treatment of social organization; to date no intensive analysis of Yąnomamö social organization has been attempted using data

415 clay pots are rapidly being replaced by aluminum ware sup-
323
199 plied to the few villages in contact with foreigners. These
[497] aluminum pots enter the exchange networks and ultimately
[498] reach virtually every village, as do machetes, axes, knives,
glass beads, and fishhooks.

291 Clothing for men is limited to cotton strings around the wrist, ankles, knees, and waist; the foreskin of the penis is tied to the waist string. Occasionally men wear a string around their upper torso that crosses at both the chest and the back, and a thick cotton belt, circular in
301 cross-section, around the waist. Scalps of wild turkeys are
237 worn as fore-arm bands, to which are tied clusters of feathers
[304] that dangle from a string a foot or so in length. Men perforate the lower lip and the ear lobes; they wear a small feather in the lip and short pieces of arrow cane through their ear lobes, occasionally embellished with colored
302 feathers. Both sexes cover their bodies with red pigment and shave the tops of their heads, the latter being more common
[64] among the women. The men shave the tops of their heads to
[59] display their numerous scalp wounds, evidence of fierceness in club fights.

291 Younger women wear a cotton waist band, thick cotton armbands, circular in cross-section, a harness of cotton strings on their upper torso that crosses between the breasts and at the back, and single strings around their ankles and
[384] below their knees. Women pierce their ear lobes, the corners
[301] of their mouth, lower lip, and nasal septum. Arrow shaft

influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

women. During relatively peaceful times headmen are hardly more than equals among their followers and their ability to command respect and issue orders diminishes accordingly. Political commitments to aid other villages in raiding, however, usually precludes long periods of peace and, should a village fail in such an obligation, its allies quickly turn on it and force it to participate. Thus, political circumstances are continually forcing villages into situations that require leadership.

B. Anthropological Work On the Yąnomamö

So far four anthropological expeditions have had an opportunity to study Yąnomamö groups, but only two of these spent an adequate amount of time in the field to collect data that substantially increase our knowledge of Yąnomamö culture. I refer to the expeditions of the Frobenius Institute in 1954-55 which brought Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster to the village of Mahekodo-tedi for some 10 months, and the expedition of Hans Becher in 1955-56 to the upper Demini River in Brazil, where he studied two villages for 9 months. The expeditions of Koch-Grünberg in 1911-12 and Johannes Wilbert in 1958 and 1960 made only brief contacts with Yąnomamö.

The results of Koch-Grünberg's contact with two groups of Yąnomamö are summarized in his Von Roraima zum Orinoco. He met two "hordes" of "Schiriana" in 1911 on the upper Uraricuera (Parima) River of Brazil. One group, whose

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
604 whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
623 status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
838 clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
604 club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
604 measure of his sexual prowess.

573 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mɨmaribɔwei-tedi
734 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwë. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwë), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
913 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

full brothers and constitute a local descent group by virtue of their co-residence.

The relationship of age differential between agnates and the strength of the agnatic tie can be illustrated by Kaobawë's relationships to the men in his descent group. Two of them are much young than he (Shadadama, 22; Shararaiwë, 18). Whenever Kaobawë organizes a feast, these two young men do much of the laborious work of preparing the food and cooking it, going on the 5-7 day hunt to obtain the meat, and making the bark trough to contain the cooked food. Another agnate, Wadesiwë, 45 years old, does nothing to assist in the preparations for feasts. He is about 5 years older than Kaobawë. The two remaining agnates, Rapeawë, 45, and Shiimima, 28, each participate to a very limited degree in the work. Shiimima, the younger of these two, does more work than the other, and usually takes charge of the hunting and directs the labors of the two youngest men in preparing the food. The two youngest agnates, however, do more work than all of the older ones put together. They, in turn, do even less work than Kaobawë's adopted son, a Shamatari boy of 16 years. A great deal of the work is done by Kaobawë's nephew, Bëkotawë, 18 years old.

Kaobawë's ability to command his agnates to execute tasks varies inversely with the ages of these men. Once Shiimima took my flashlight. I discovered by devious means who the culprit was, and asked Kaobawë to have Shiimima return it to me, presuming that he could order him to do so.

622 Several days went by and I still did not have the item, so I
602 asked Kɨobawɛ̈ what he had done about it. He said he had
613 spoken to Shiimima, but the matter then rested with him: "He
561 will give it to you if it is his desire to do so." I ulti-
123 mately had to resort to my own means to recover the flash-
554 light, as Kɨobawɛ̈ could not force Shiimima to return it.
591 When I questioned Kɨobawɛ̈ about this ineffectiveness, he
explained: "Shiimima is already fierce and I can not order
him around." Thus, while he could command his youngest
siblings to do things, he had to rely on example and suggestion
622 to get older agnates to do the same things. Before every
613 feast, for example, the village clearing is cleaned by scrap-
602 ing up the weeds and debris that accumulate, and hauling them
529 out of the village. As the younger agnates are busy prepar-
594 ing the food for the feast, they can not clean the clearing.
351 Kɨobawɛ̈ usually goes to the center of the village and begins
554 cleaning up the debris himself. After a while, his older
591 agnates join him, and perhaps their spouses as well. They
561 would be inclined, however, to refuse to do the work if
Kɨobawɛ̈ requested them to do it, for acquiescence in this
regard implies that one is being bossed around.

*621 Within a local descent group, therefore, the relative
613 age of the agnates is crucial to the solidarity of the group
602 and the effectiveness of its leadership. If the father of
561 a group of brothers is alive, he will be the leader, and the
593 group functions quite smoothly. When he dies, however, the
602 solidarity and strength of the group diminishes, as adult
613

the kinship system to his advantage, putting all adult men in the village in a subordinate position to himself. Let us briefly examine the composition of this village.

Figure 2 shows the ties between the two lineages over three generations: the individuals in both lineages are tied to each other by consanguineal as well as affinal ties. In a negative sense, the village is characterized by an absence of remotely-related agnates that might constitute a challenge to Keromawë for leadership. All agnates within each faction are closely related to each other, and their mutual rights and obligations in the political affairs of the village are well defined. The hangers-on, on the other hand, are related to males of the two core lineages by stable, but subordinate, affinal ties such as son-in-law or brother-in-law. Keromawë is a particularly capable leader on the basis of his personal qualifications alone.[1] His position as leader is bolstered by the nature of the ties that link him, individual by individual, to every adult male in the village. He has four adult sons to support his position. Equally significant, he has manipulated the kinship system and 'changed' the generation of a number of his kinswomen so as to advance his position as leader. He redefined two classificatory daughters as 'sisters,' making it possible to arrange marriages between his own children and the children of these women. He was able to do this because many of the

[1] His son, Bëkëbëwë, is gradually assuming some of the functions of leadership, as Keromawë is getting old.

[621] [622] [613] [607] [736] [601] [364] [183] [582] actual brothers of these women were killed in the 1950-51 treacherous feast,[1] and the women therefore had few agnates to contest Reromawë's actions; his rights to dispose of these women increased after their brothers were killed in the feast. Because of the previous marriages between the members of the Sha and Tom lineages, Reromawë was already MoBr to the politically most important males in the Tom lineage, and he could command respect from them by virtue of the fact that he was of the ascending generation and principal wife-giver to them. [583] [601] [183] [582] He in fact gave two daughters to one of these men. When he re-defined one of his classificatory daughters as sister, he advanced his position in two ways. First, he then became shoriwë to the man that was married to this sister (the man was already SiSo to Reromawë), compounding the cognatic tie (SiSo) that linked them with an important affinal tie (shoriwë). Second, he was able then to claim a daughter of this 'sister' as a wife for his own son (despite the fact that it was incestuous), creating additional stable ties between the two lineages on another generational level.

[601] [183] [582] In another, similar, case, Reromawë re-defined a different classificatory daughter as 'sister,' making it possible for her son to marry his daughter. This was a strategic move, for the man involved was of the Hor lineage, a dominant political group in Upper Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi. Thus, by manipulating the kinship system, Reromawë advanced his own position as village leader and managed to

[1] See Chapter V.

Bisaasi-tedi, as the Monou-tedi were demanding military aid from them. Paruriwë seized upon this as his opportunity to advance his prestige, and after the middle of 1965 initiated several raids against the Patanowë-tedi without the support of Kaobëwë. This enhanced his prestige with the Monou-tedi. As Paruriwë was not related to the slain Monou-tedi headman (consanguineally), his participation in the war is best seen as an expression of his attempt to advance his status.

Paruriwë's behavior in other respects changed after the middle of the year. He constantly reminded me that he was a 'big man,' as if I would fail to notice this. Again, he went out of his way to be brutal to his wives; on one occasion he nearly killed one of them with an axe because she responded slowly to his demand for food while Paruriwë was entertaining visitors. His outburst was a display to the visitors, and to his own followers, that he was indeed a force to contend with. Shortly after I left the field, Paruriwë and his group separated from Kaobëwë's and moved across the Orinoco River. He had started building his house on that side of the river about the middle of the year. This move underscored his postion as a headman, as he could initiate feasts for other groups from his own village. Up until the time he moved, visitors from other villages consistently sought out Kaobëwë as Bisaasi-tedi's headman during the feasts and the trading after the feasts, no matter how much effort Paruriwë spent in emphasizing his own role in the feast. As far as the visitors were concerned, there was just

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only suggest to a brother of the same age that the task should be done. This is equally true should one of them be the village headman. Kąobawä can ask his youngest brothers to perform many menial tasks during the preparations for a feast, but he cannot ask his mature brothers to help out. Thus, when it is time to clean the weeds from the village plaza to prepare the dance site, Kąobawä himself initiates the work, a form of suggestion that the task must be done. After a while his older, politically important brothers will join him, but only on their own initiative. He could not directly ask them to do this work. On one occasion a young man stole my flashlight and gave it to Shiimima, a younger brother to Kąobawä, but already a mature adult. I asked Kąobawä to help me get it back. After a day or so I asked him if he had gotten my flashlight back from Shiimima, whereupon he replied: "I have spoken to him about it. He will return it if he sees fit. I cannot order him to do so because he is already fierce." Adult brothers of the same age are under considerable pressure to establish their prowess and masculinity and do not permit other men, including their mature brothers, to boss them around. By contrast, Kąobawä could have *commanded* his youngest brother to return the flashlight, since the latter was not yet "fierce," that is, politically significant in village affairs, hence, anxious to display personal autonomy.

Finally, people can trace remote genealogical relationships to others under many circumstances. Kąobawä continuously spoke of the headman of a distant village as his brother. When I questioned him about his usage, he explained that he and the other man have a common patrilineal great-grandfather, that is, he *demonstrated* (see Glossary) his genealogical relationship to the man in question. The other headman gave a similar account.

In small villages the male members of the same lineage are usually on fairly intimate terms with each other. As the village grows in size, however, closeness of genealogical relationship becomes an important measure of the amity between brothers. That is, some men who are related as brothers group together and behave as a political unit. They group together because they are closely related genealogically and have common interests with respect to obtaining wives. If the village is very large, there may be two or more such groups of brothers within the same lineage. The larger lineage begins to segment into smaller factions, resulting in groups of agnates who are on more intimate terms with the members of their own group than they are with their genealogically more distant agnates who, in turn, constitute a different group.

THE LOCAL DESCENT GROUP This lineage segmentation was implicit in Generation V of Fig. 3-1 and arose because of the way in which members of lineage X entered into marriage alliances with members of the incorporated lineage W. These groups of brothers—segments—are called local descent groups.[9] Local descent groups have three characteristics. First, membership in them depends on patrilineal descent. Hence, the members all trace relationships to each other through males, and one can only be a member of the group if such a relationship exists. Second, the members of the group live in the same village. If, for example, a young man leaves his village to seek a wife elsewhere, he is no longer a member of the local descent group that includes his brothers and

[9]Leach, 1951. Yąnomamö local descent groups differ slightly from the definition given by Leach; among the Yąnomamö such groups rarely include more than two generations of males, whereas Leach defined them as embracing three generations. Otherwise, Yąnomamö local descent groups closely fit Leach's definition.

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drugs take effect. This usually lasts for an hour or so, after which the men bathe to wash the vomit or nasal mucus off their bodies. Kaobawä does not participate in the drug-taking, as he finds it unpleasant. Most of the men, however, do take drugs and enjoy doing it, despite the associated unpleasantries of vomiting and the pain that follows the blast of air as the powder is blown deeply into the nasal passages.

Whatever the men do for the afternoon, however, the women invariably search for firewood and haul immense, heavy loads of it to their houses just before dark.

Fig. 3–8. Boys shooting tiny arrows into a lizard they have captured. The lizard is tied to a string and allowed to run around the village while the boys gleefully chase it. Here they have wounded it and are about to fill it full of arrows.

The biggest meal of the day is prepared in the evening. The staple is plantains, but frequently other kinds of food are available after the day's activities. Meat is always the most desirable food and is always considered to be in short supply. It is a happy occasion when one of the hunters bags a tapir, for everyone gets a large share of it.

It is good to share meat with others. This attitude is expressed in the sentiment that a hunter should give away most of the game he kills. One of the obligations men take very seriously is providing adequate quantities of meat for their wives and children. They genuinely abhor hearing their children cry for meat; this calls into question their abilities as hunters and marksmen, both of which are associated with prestige. Rerebawä, for example, collected a large supply of game on one trip we took together. He gave it all to his wife and children and to his wife's parents. At the evening meal he refused to

At the evening meal he refused to take a portion of the meat so that the others could have more. Later in the evening, he appeared at my hut begging for a can of sardines to satisfy his hunger for meat. He preferred to go hungry rather than risk the onus of being accused of poor marksmanship or stinginess.

Both sexes participate in the cooking, although the women do the greater share of it. Food preparation is not elaborate and rarely requires much labor, time, or paraphernalia. Spices are never used, although the salty ashes of a particular kind of tree are sometimes mixed with water to form a condiment of sorts. The food is dunked into the salty liquid and eaten.

Everyone eats in his hammock using his fingers for utensils. Some meals cannot be eaten from a reclining position, so the members of the family squat in a circle around the common dish. For example, large quantities of tiny fish are cooked by wrapping them in leaves and cooking them in the hot coals. When the fish are done, the package is spread open, and everyone shares its contents.

Animals are never skinned before cooking. They are merely put over the fire after their entrails have been removed, and roasted, head, fur, claws, and all. Most of the fur is singed off in the process of cooking. The animal is dismembered by hand. The head, particularly the head of a monkey, is highly prized because the brain is considered a delicacy. The most common meat is monkey, of which there are several varieties, so that this delicacy is enjoyed rather frequently by the Yąnomamö.

By the time supper is over it is nearly dark. The fires are prepared for the evening; if someone has allowed his own fire to go out during the day, he simply borrows two glowing sticks from a neighbor and rekindles his own hearth. The entrances to the village are sealed off with dry brush so that prowlers can not enter without raising an alarm. Before retiring to their hammocks, the Yąnomamö first sit on them and wipe the bottoms of their bare feet together. This rubs off most of the debris that has accumulated on them during the course of the day. Everyone sleeps naked and as close to the fire as possible. Despite the inevitable last-minute visiting, things are usually quiet in the village by the time it is dark.

Things are not always quiet after dark. If anyone in the village is sick, a shaman will chant to the malevolent spirits most of the night to exorcise them. Or, should anyone be mourning a dead kinsman, he or she will sob and wail long after the others have fallen asleep. Occasionally, a fight will break out between a husband and wife, and soon everybody in the village will be screaming, expressing opinions on the dispute. The shouting may continue sporadically for hours, dying down only to break out anew as someone gets a fresh insight into the problem. Once in a while someone gives a long, loud speech voicing his opinion on the world in general. Those who are interested may add their own comments, but the audience usually grumbles about the noise and falls asleep.

Status Differences and Activities

Daily activities, except those concerning gardening and visiting, do not vary much from season to season. Much of the variation that does occur is a function of one's age or sex, as was shown above.

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mades of the deliverer would cheer and bounce up and down from the knees, waving and clacking their weapons over their heads. The victim's supporters, meanwhile, would urge their champion on frantically, insisting that he take another blow. If the delivery were made with sufficient force to knock the recipient to the ground, the man who delivered it would throw his arms above his head, roll his eyes back, and prance victoriously in a circle around his victim, growling and screaming, his feet almost a blur from his excited dance. The recipient would stand poised and take as many as four blows before demanding to hit his adversary. He would be permitted to strike his opponent as many times as the latter struck him, provided that the opponent could take it. If not, he would be forced to retire, much to the dismay of his comrades and the delirious joy of their opponents. No fighter could retire after delivering a blow. If he attempted to do so, his adversary would plunge into the crowd and roughly haul him back out, sometimes being aided by the man's own supporters. Only after having received his just dues could he retire. If he had delivered three blows, he had to receive three or else be proven a poor fighter. He could retire with less than three only if he were injured. Then, one of his comrades would replace him and demand to hit the victorious opponent. The injured man's two remaining blows would be canceled, and the man who delivered the victorious blow would have to receive more blows than he delivered. Thus, good fighters are at a disadvantage, since they receive disproportionately more punishment than they deliver. Their only reward is status: they earn the reputation of being fierce.

Some of the younger men in Kaobawä's group were reluctant to participate in the fighting because they were afraid of being injured. This put more strain on the others, who were forced to take extra turns in order to preserve the group's reputation. At one point Kaobawä's men, sore from the punishment they had taken and worried that they would ultimately lose the fight, wanted to escalate the contest to an axe duel (see Fig. 4-3). Kaobawä was vigorously opposed to this, as he knew it would lead to bloodshed. He therefore recruited the younger men into the fighting, as well as a few of the older ones who had done nothing but demand the others to step into the arena, thereby reducing the strain on those who wanted to escalate the level of violence. A few of the younger men retired after a single blow, privately admitting to me later that they pretended to be injured to avoid being forced to fight more. The fighting continued in this fashion for nearly three hours, tempers growing hotter and hotter. Kaobawä and the headman from the other group stood by with their weapons, attempting to keep the fighting innocuous, but not participating in it. Some of the fighters went through several turns of three or four blows each, their pectoral muscles swollen and red from the number of blows each had received. The fight had still not been decided, although Kaobawä's group seemed to be getting the worst of it. They then insisted on escalating the fighting to side slapping, partly because their chests were too sore to continue in that fashion, and partly because their opponents seemed to have an edge on them.

The side slapping duel is nearly identical in form to chest pounding, except that the blow is delivered with an open hand across the flanks of the opponent, between his rib-cage and pelvis bone. It is a little more severe than chest pounding because casualties are more frequent and tempers grow hotter more rapidly when a group's champion falls to the ground, gasping for wind, and faints. The side slapping only lasted fifteen minutes or so; one of the more influential men in Kaobawä's group was knocked unconscious, enraging the others. The fighting continued for just a few minutes after this, but during